WESTERN DESTINY

THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE

THIRTY-FIVE CENTS

HERMAN'S BROTHER

EARNEST SEVIER COX

VICTORY WITHOUT WAR

WOLFGANG STRAUSS

RACE MIXERS RIDING FOR A FALL

JOHN RAINSFORD

OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON

CARLETON PUTNAM

MODERN ART AND CRISIS OF THE WEST

JOHN S. SULLIVAN

VOLUME IX NUMBER 4 SEPTEMBER, 1964

WESTERN DESTINY

Let us at least talk about it, you wisest of men, even if it seems bad. Silence is worse; all truths suppressed become poisonous.

—FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE

Volume IX Number 4

September, 1964

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Letters

Dear Editor:

Thank you for the complimentary copy. 'Twas like a celestial symphony after 31 years of left wing cacophony.

I am sure the patricians of the Conservatives will thrill to such delights as the defense of the West by the Goths. But will WD ever reach the stone-deaf hoi polloi?

JAMES GILMARTIN
Baldwin, Mich.

WD is not meant for a mass audience, Mr. Gilmartin. Read Dick Hoskins' article carefully in the July issue.—Ed.

Dear Editor:

Your magazine appears to be just what I have been looking for so I am sending a subscription for myself and my daughter.

MRS. RUTH B. ALLEN
Indianola, Miss.

Dear Editor:

. . . I am thrilled over WESTERN DESTINY and proud of the privilege of being a Charter Subscriber.

CHARLOTTE DEAN
Waco, Tex.

Dear Editor:

The past sixty years or so I have been a voracious reader—in three languages—and if I were to put my opinion concerning the integrity and veracity of the world's press, and particularly that of the United States, on paper I would get arrested for dangerous moral depravity . . .

Someone sent me a copy of WESTERN DESTINY—a ray of truth in a morass of organized "brainwashing." Although I pray that your cause will prevail, I am afraid. The bearers of light usually end on a cross.

F. D. LOEWER
Branch, La.

Dear Editor:

Your first issue looks sharp, and contains some excellent ideas that need cultivating. I wish you great success in your venture.

A. G. BLAZEY, M.D.
Washington, Ind.

Dear Editor:

Anyone so bold as to edit a periodical called WESTERN DESTINY—non-pictorial and in an area that inhabitants thereof seek their own last "civil rites"—earns four fight dollars . . .

ORLANDO FRANKLIN
Shelburn, Ind.

Dear Editor:

WESTERN DESTINY fills the most important gap in the literature of the Right. I am confident its future issues will bring American Nationalism (and the West) out of the cradle and send it on to success. I hope you will urge each subscriber to sell subscriptions and distribute WD widely.

JAMES THIELE
Miami, Fla.

Dear Editor:

After reading it half way through (at one sitting) I hasten to send in my subscription. I am highly pleased with its avoidance of the pussyfoot . . .

MRS. GLADYS GRUSCHUS
Albuquerque, N. M.

Dear Editor:

Thanks for introducing me to your timely and much-needed publication. I loan it to a friend after reading it from cover to cover.

MISS RUTH HENLEY
Marshall, Tex.

Dear Editor:

Congratulations on launching the much-needed WESTERN DESTINY. Hopefully, you will be allowed to carry out your noble purposes and intentions in portraying the truthful historical facts. However, you will find the road anything but smooth . . .

ROBERT C. SCHWAB
Ellsworth, Me.

THE REVOLUTION OF TODAY

While the liberals have been pontificating on the "Negro Revolution" and drawing all manner of ridiculous conclusions from it—a-la their distorted understanding of sociology—a genuine and truly significant revolution has been a-building right under their delicate nostrils, a revolution that they contemptuously term "White Backlash."

It is all the more amazing that they have missed the true significance of what is going on because they are the main targets which this real revolution shall smash.

But liberals, as Yockey points out, are incapable of seeing facts and thus they neglected to see the greatest political fact of today—that after more than thirty years the worm has turned and is going to take back the Destiny of the West which they would pervert to a meaningless and formless cosmopolitanism.

And this, mind you, in spite of the fact that in their arrogant blindness they had assumed that come what may they would be able to continue to thwart the "nativist" aspirations of an enemy which they believed was a nearly extinct species—the despised American patriot.

It is not that they lacked good reason to feel secure. Their power was built upon all of the gimmicks listed in the books on public relations. They had everything from heirling churchmen, academicians and foundations down to the gutter press. In fact, they still have.

WESTERN DESTINY is not, of course, saying that the battle is won. Far from that: it has hardly begun! What we are saying is that the Revolution in the Cow Palace is the first major victory for Conservatives in many decades and that, although we shall suffer many more reverses and defeats, victory is not only possible but certain!

But this point, we trust, is not a new one for readers of these pages. They know that WESTERN DESTINY has a profound faith in the triumph of the West over its inner and outer enemies. The victory in the Cow Palace was but the first for the Spirit of the Age and the re-emergent spiritually of the American patriot—the heir of two thousand years of Western development.

The event in the Cow Palace was, of course, a far more profound one than even those who participated realized. The delegates came to San Francisco to nominate a man who would give them "a choice, not an echo." With this as their purpose they proceeded to uproot at one tug all of the comfortable illusions which the savants of Culture Distortion had lovingly tended these past years.

Such profound events as this do not just happen. They are inherent in the times, themselves; they are events awaiting a moment to be born. Barry Goldwater's part in this was great, but he is being carried by the forces which shape history. The most important question is, does Barry Goldwater have a real understanding of what is happening, and will he be able to creatively shape the energy which has been loosed in the minds and hearts of hundreds of thousands of Conservative activists, or does he fail to see the problems of today in their real terms? Will he remain tied to the false illusions of yesterday which have no place in today's world, or will he be able to see things clearly, and without bias? Defeat, ultimate and final, will follow an unrealistic and static approach to the unique problems of today. Our aim must not be to bring back a vaguely-defined "normalcy," it must be to move ahead and solve all of our problems in the light of facts and truth, not outdated theories which may or may not have been valid in the past, but which are hopelessly inadequate for today.

The real job ahead for the Culture-Bearing stratum of the West is to impress this need on the instinctive groping of our people which is now so hotly manifested by current events.

THE NEXT-DOOR NEIGHBOR TEST

The party realignment, which all responsible Conservatives have recognized for years as being the indispensible prerequisite for a national renaissance, is now in the process of being actualized.

This is the real meaning of the Revolution at the Cow Palace.

Apparently, this great fact is not recognized by even some of the more reputable organs of public opinion. On the other hand, the words of the Leftist claque betray their terror that a party realignment is, indeed, in progress.

It is proper that they fear this development like nothing else. For its unfoldment has a direct and urgent meaning to their continued dominance of America—and the West. Their power is rooted in the confusion which has attended the political scene since Roosevelt, who put together the improbable but workable alliance of the Conservative South and the minority and big city bosses of the North, and it has been served faithfully by the Republican politicians who, come what may, were determined to leave the South to the ambivalent Democrats, and seek instead for non-existent votes in the big cities.

The Cow Palace Revolution makes it clear that Conservatives shall never again accept this political swindle. And should Goldwater win or lose, things will never again be the same.

The Left is never at a loss for theories, and one which they have come up with as a tranquilizer for their fright is that Goldwater will lose and then the South will revert to its past habit of voting Democrat.

Of course, such a hope is doomed to disappointment. Even if Goldwater should lose, the process of reconciliation between Americans of North and South will continue. In fact, a narrow defeat could even add speed and urgency to the historical imperative of party realignment.

Forgetting completely about ideology and issues, the future political division between the two parties is indelibly written on the physiognomy of the party workers involved. At San Francisco, even the liberal press commented on the nice appearance of the delegates. They were, the press said, ordinary wholesome Americans, obviously descended from the pioneers who built this Nation. Most of them were not professional politicians; in fact, they had entered politics in order to try and clean it up. They were (and in their campaign headquarters across the country, still are) hard-working, decent people—the kind of folks whom others like as next-door neighbors. In his essay, *The Forgotten Man,* William Graham Sumner speaks of this type:

> *The Forgotten Man is delving away in patient industry, supporting his family, paying his taxes, casting his vote, supporting the church and school, reading his newspaper, and cheering for the politician of his admiration, but he is the only one for whom there is no provision in the great scramble and the big divide. . . . He works, he votes, generally he prays—but he always pays—yes, above all, he pays. . . . He keeps production going on. . . . He is strongly patriotic. . . . He is not in any way a hero . . . or a problem . . . nor notorious . . . nor an object of sentiment . . . nor a burden . . . nor one over whom sentimental economists and statesmen can parade their fine sentiments. . . . Therefore, he is forgotten.*

The delegates to San Francisco—and the party workers which you may find throughout the Nation—are, in other words, of the Culture-Bearing stratum. The press, of course, found this to be sinister. A writer for Life even saw this as "fascism." If this is fascism, America was created, built and is maintained by fascists.

CHANGING FACE OF THE DEMOCRATS

The contrast between the participants in San Francisco and Atlantic City could hardly be more vivid. Drawing as it does from the big cities of the North, and having lost the South, the Democrat Party is visibly showing the result, for the majority of the delegates and guests seemed to be almost from another country—mainly the "emergent" and Near Eastern variety. And whereas in San Francisco the beatniks, peace creeps and varieties of unwashed and hairy crackpots were kept outside on the Scranton picket lines where they belonged, in Atlantic City they were the "in-group" and today may be found at your local Democrat headquarters as volunteers. The delegates and hangers-on in Atlantic City, in other words, were not "next-door-neighbor-material."

This basic change in the parties has long been a fact in the corresponding Young Republican and Young Democrat organizations. The YR's have shot ahead in numbers and spirit and influence and today are the very barometer of changes in the senior party. The YR's are composed of attractive American kids—sons and daughters of responsible people. Most of them join the YR's because in it they find a social outlet. The turnover is high, but the quality of membership is also high. The Young Democrats have never been able to match the performance for the simple reason that no decent father or mother would tolerate having their children as members of an organization with the kind of decadent creeps to be found in the Young Democrats.

These facts cry out their meaning for themselves. The Democrats are at the end of the dead-end road they started traveling in 1933, when Roosevelt conceived his grand design of putting together all of the dispossessed minority groups—including the South—into one machine for wrenching power and privilege from the creators and owners of society. Yockey terms this the "Revolution of 1933." But Roosevelt's scheme was successful only because he was able to mask his underlying intent with the cant of the liberal charlatan, thus hiding the truth.

But this is no longer possible, for liberalism has gone as far as it can. Its intellectual bankruptcy has been obvious enough for twenty years and finally it is becoming popularly recognized as the psychological and spiritual sickness that it is. Political gangsters are finding it increasingly hard to excite the maudlin sympathy of the voters and taxpayers with their heart-rending appeals for "humanity" and their hot tears for the "underprivileged"—particularly when said politicians are usually men of enormous wealth and known corruption.

Thus, the Democrats are being left in the glaring spotlight as the formal and recognized political organism of all of the spiritually alien and anti-Western elements in America, and led and financed by the malicious and ruthless power of international finance.

We will beg for this issue the intriguing question of what the Culture Distorter can come up with to substitute for his lost control over the restive natives. What remains in his bag of tricks we shall soon see, for power over America—and therefore over the West—will not be willingly relinquished. Our point is simply that more and more Americans will decide to cast their votes not by the largely meaningless gabble of party platforms and campaign oratory but by the same way they buy a house —first, they decide if they like the neighbors or not.

FAILURE OF CONGRESS

It is no secret in the Western world that our parliaments are failing us, and when this happens the political vacuum which is created is always occupied by another and more aggressive force.

At close range, here in the United States, we can see what is happening to Congress. It is basically an un-

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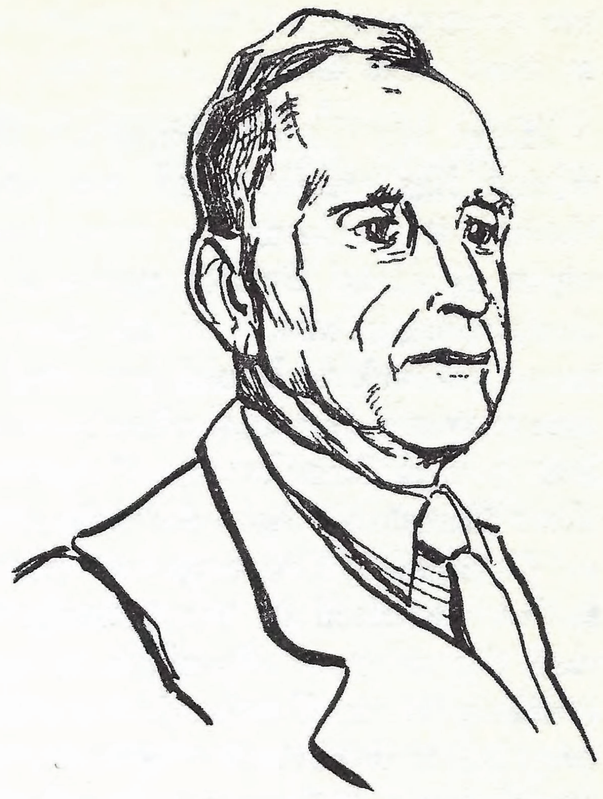
HERMAN'S BROTHER

The First Internationalist

By EARNEST SEVIER COX



To thousands of Whites in America and Europe, Earnest Sevier Cox is known as the dean of American racial historians; the author of White America, Teutonic Unity ***and many pamphlets. To thousands of Negroes, Col. Cox is their trusted counselor and friend; the only White man in America who, for half a century, has fought by their side for Repatriation to Africa. Today, the cause of Black Nationalism is assuming a movement of consequence, but its aims and history are consistently ignored, downgraded and distorted by the press. In this article, taken from a speech the old warrior made to members of the NORTHERN LEAGUE in Detmold, Germany, in July, 1960, the philosophy of the movement is stated as it relates to our own people. Subsequent issues of*** WESTERN DESTINY ***will tell more about it.***

●

Herman's brother was an officer in the Roman army. When Herman had destroyed the legions of Varus the Roman government in sustained but unsuccessful effort sought to resubjugate Northern Europe. We learn from the Annals of Tacitus that when contending with the forces of Germanicus Caesar, Herman learned that his brother was in enemy ranks across the river. Herman came to the river bank and called for his brother that he might talk with him. His brother came to the opposite bank.

When Herman asked his brother how he had fared since last they had met his brother replied that he had been promoted in rank, had lost an eye, had been advanced in pay, and had been decorated for valor. Herman urged his brother in the name of their mother and their race, to abandon the cause of Rome and fight by his side, not against him, in the struggle for racial freedom. He told his brother that though he was an honored officer in the Roman army yet there were chains of slavery in such service. His brother, becoming enraged, challenged Herman to combat. Others intervened and prevented a personal struggle between the brothers.

Tacitus, writing a hundred years after the battle of the Teutoburger Forest, speaking of Herman, said "Undoubtedly the liberator of Germany; a man, who, not in its infancy as captains and kings before him, but in the high noon of its sovereignty, threw down the challenge to the Roman nation, in battle with momentous results, in war without defeat, he completed thirty-seven years of life, twelve of power, and to this day is sung in tribal lay."

Herman's victory over Rome preserved the race and culture of Germanic peoples, for had Rome reached the Baltic with the mighty German warriors at her disposal few there are that would hold that the Scandinavian broodland could have escaped the power of the Roman Empire and the mongrelization that was effected within its borders. Modern civilization hung upon his victory for the descendants of the people he preserved are everywhere leaders in civilized culture as we know it. The victory, by preserving the racial broodlands of Scandinavia and Germany, built up a reservoir of men and women of splendid bodies, splendid courage, and splendid energy, who, beginning four centuries after the battle of the Teutoburger Forest, broke forth upon the Western Roman Empire, subdued it, took possession of Europe, and conditioned modern civilization to a development along Teutonic lines.

This victory gave to the Anglo-Saxons their prized Bill of Rights and Common Law, inherited from the republican institutions of Old Saxony. It gave to the man on foot the right of way as against the man on horseback. It gave the presumption of innocence to the individual charged with crime, and an early trial for the charges made against him.

Herman's brother, fighting to place his race and nation in subjection to an alien power, did not stand alone in this matter. Herman's wife's father and certain others of his close kin favored subjection to Rome. There were Germans in the legions of Varus destroyed by Herman.

THE AGELESS TREASON

A pen more worthy than mine should deal with the causes which have led portions of our race to aid alien peoples in their effort to subdue the race. An exiled Frank nobleman urged the Huns to bring their mighty armies into France and an imprisoned Italian noblewoman urged the Huns to invade Italy. In Spain certain

minor groups of Goths allied with the Moslem invaders against other Goths.

Here, we do not consider the strife within the race which has waymarked our racial history. Such strife, though it weakens the race, has not destroyed the principle of racial liberty nor led to the mongrelization of the race. But strife within the race which leads to racial mongrelization should be considered, for miscegenation is a process of racial elimination. Within the memory of living men Franks and Anglo-Saxons in league against their Germanic homeland have implanted Negro troops in Germany. These troops have bred mulatto children to be absorbed in the German population. It is evident that the migrant Franks and Saxons consciously are imperiling their Germanic broodland by mulattoizing its people, and that the Franks and Saxons who do this stand with "Herman's Brother" in the thesis we are developing.

The harshness of this indictment against the Franks and Saxons will be mitigated in some measure when we set forth the fact that important groups in Germany, itself, advocated a program for the purpose of making mulattoes out of Germans and Negroes. In 1912 the German Socialist and Church parties combined their votes in the Reichstag and petitioned the Imperial Government to abolish its laws which forbid marriage between Whites and Blacks in the German colonies in Africa. The Imperial Government not being subject to this vote in the Reichstag did not abolish the laws.

It is well to consider that the evolutionary process through "trial and error" cannot apply to the mixing of races for having become mixed no "trial" can correct the "error." From the angle of race that portion of the race which seeks to eliminate the race would be a defective portion of the race. This defect may be in some measure a congenital one but in very large part it would seem to be environmental. The defect seems to issue from the matter of geography. Almost all of the Germanic descent who dwell with colored races oppose miscegenation as the solution of their race problem. Many of the Germanic peoples who do not dwell with colored races, favor, in theory at least, making mix-breeds out of other Whites. This division within the race is a startling phenomenon for it reveals that the portions of the race which know least of the problems produced by racial contacts announce themselves to be the foremost authorities on such problems. The Europeans in Europe assume that they are greater authorities on the race question than are their European colonial kin who are in daily contact with colored races. When one who knows the least of a problem announces himself to be the foremost authority on it he lays himself open to ridicule which would cause an adjustment of his position. But the White colonials have been sorely pressed by the vast numbers of their race in Europe whose opinions it is difficult to change.

Another startling phenomenon found among White miscegenationists who know least of the problems arising from the contact of races is found in their efforts to promote their cause by having their respective governments forbid legislation that would prevent race mixing. Such effort on the part of the miscegenationists has succeeded in the Latin American countries and has made a partial success in the United States of America. Let us again consider the combined vote of the Socialists and Churchmen in the German Reichstag in their joint effort to mulattoize the German colonials. Socialism, as such, is primarily a political economy. Christianity, as such, is a spiritual religion. In miscegenetic zeal the Socialists put a biological rider on a political economy and in miscegenetic zeal the Churchmen put a biological rider on a spiritual religion; thus bringing from the colonial Whites the quaint comment that neither Socialism nor Christianity, as such, is fit for thoroughbreds of any kind but only for mongrels.

The tribal-nations that migrated from their Germanic homeland were to establish a political dominance over most of the world and implant many of their kind in far-off colonies. In their movement to the New World they were to take with them the helpless African Negro to serve them as slaves. Here, we deal with the elements of our race that have assumed the role of "Herman's Brother" in an effort to eliminate race by mongrelizing its heredity. In true sense this "Herman's Brother" portion of our White race found a counterpart in the African Negro rulers who sold their blood brothers in slavery to Whites. The implanting of the blood stream of Africa in that of Europe in the western migrations of Germanic peoples would need be classed as, potentially, the most disgenic event in history. This was "Herman's Brother" at his worst. We will see that there is a remedy for this error.

ENEMIES OF THE NEGRO

For a better understanding of the White race's attitude toward the Negro race the Negro should know that vast profits accruing to Whites from the African slave trade went into the pockets of several of the ruling houses in the nations of Europe and that none of them opposed the slave trade as long as they profited greatly from it. The Negro should also know that in the Western World, with the exception of certain islands, Whites who enslaved their ancestors were vastly outnumbered by Whites who did not own slaves.

In the United States of America the government formed by the Founding Fathers was, politically, a White race in a White Nation. The Indians were wards of the government. The Negro was a slave. The most illustrious of our statesmen—Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln—sought, in the language of Washington, "to restore to Africa her stolen children." The slave owners wished to keep the Negro in the Nation for his labor. When the slaves were freed the Republican Party opposed Negroes having a nation of their own and retained them that they might profit by the Negro vote.

Our race has been through various phases of the White-Black race question for more than 300 years. As yet we cannot see an immediate end to it. Our kin in South Africa, outnumbered more than three to one by colored peoples, are "segregating" the races. In the United States of America, where the Whites outnumber

Negroes ten to one, there is a program to "integrate" races. The segregation theory is based on the variant heredity found in race. This theory would preserve race. Such segregation as envisioned in South Africa would be a boon to the Negro in the matter of trade. The Negroes, and many portions of the White race, are no match for the highly specialized Indian and eastern European trading stocks that have obtruded themselves on the African Negro. Racial segregation will eliminate the alien traders and the Negro will develop his own merchant class. He will develop his own professional class of teachers, preachers, doctors, and lawyers and not be dependent on other races for such service.

In the United States of America the Negro has moved in large numbers into the northern cities. There the dominant political parties are bidding against each other for the Negro vote. The communist theory of the ONENESS of the races of mankind is being considered in the United States. The integration theory issues from this ONENESS theory. It would tend to eliminate race and substitute a mulatto type for the Germanic peoples that established the Nation and its culture. The White politicians who sponsor this movement think more in terms of the next election than in terms of the next generation. The arising nations of Africa, I believe, will resist the theory of ONENESS, a theory which could inundate their country with massed millions from Asia and Europe. Nor will the Black nationalists accept the theory of "integration" as set forth by the Warren Court which held that the Negro feels "inferior" unless the White man is close at hand.

RACIAL NATIONALISM

Historical records will show that when widely divergent races are placed under the same government there has been no end of discord. But we can choose between the alternative solutions of problems produced by races in contact. There would be centuries of discord in the solutions of problems produced by races in contact. There would be centuries of discord in the solution of amalgamating the White and Black races for when the last White man had disappeared in the mongrelization of the races, the near-Whites would oppose the near-Blacks and peace would not be found. The separation of the races involved would bring peace and would maintain the races as ethnic groups.

I have long been associated with eminent Negro leaders in the United States who have petitioned the Federal Government to reinstitute the Negro nationality movement as set forth by President Lincoln in his Message to the Congress when he issued his Emancipation Proclamation. The untimely death of Mr. Lincoln enabled a dominant faction of White politicians to repudiate Lincoln's ideal of a White race in a White nation, and to hold the Negro in the United States to profit from the Negro vote. This dominant faction in Mr. Lincoln's own political party suppressed the Negro repatriation program which had been started by Negroes, themselves. In his own ship, Paul Cuffe, a Negro sea captain with a crew of Negro seamen, had carried freed Negroes from the United States to Sierra Leone in Africa. Eminent White men came to the aid of Cuffe and acquired the territory of Liberia, which for a long period was the only portion of Negro Africa controlled by Negro peoples. Much of the public lands of Liberia were reserved for American Negroes.

In 1939 the Negro Nationalist leaders seeking to reestablish Lincoln's Negro policy in the Congress succeeded in getting the Greater Liberia Act introduced in the Senate. Through this bill the Federal Government would have been authorized to provide transportation and material aid for Negroes who desired to settle in Liberia on lands held for such settlement, and it proposed to acquire additional territory for Liberia. I was present when this bill was introduced. The Senate Gallery was two-thirds or more filled with Negro delegates. I saw the Vice-President receive petitions signed by more than two million Negroes requesting Federal aid for their repatriation program. Impending war prevented a committee hearing of this bill. After the war the Black Nationalists succeeded in getting another bill introduced that would aid a migration to Liberia. The aftermath of war had brought to the United States the communist theory of the ONENESS of the races of mankind. This concept was used by the integrationists to strengthen their cause. Patiently, the Negro Nationalist leaders, who would stand for full liberty for Negroes wherever they may dwell, have pointed out that if the nation is "integrated" the race problem will continue, but that separation of the races will solve the race problem.

I would like to say to our European kin that we have considered the proposition that in Europe those who know the least of colonial race problems have always announced themselves to be the foremost authorities on them. And add to this comment that in the United States the program of "integration" has issued from Whites who would be least affected by integration. And I would like to restate the comments of Black Nationalist leaders who patiently point out that integration will not solve the race problem. If peace is desired between the races the less the integration the more the peace. This principle is operating presently in Great Britain. There was more peace between White Englishmen and Jamaica Negroes when each dwelt in their own country than there has been since large numbers of Jamaicans have migrated to Great Britain.

REPATRIATION THE SOLUTION

The slave trade which brought the African from his homeland to the Western World, continued for some three hundred years. A repatriation movement would restore the African to his ancestral continent in much less time if assistance should be given to the youth of the race in establishing a nation of their own. This process would tend to insure that the increase of the race would be in the new nation. Some years ago Lord Melchett, a distinguished British Jew, considered the application of the "selective age" principle in the removal of Polish Jews to relieve the race pressure in that country. Discussing the effect of transferring vigorous youths, he said—"Careful statistical inquiry shows that the effect on the future numerical strength of a given population,

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Victory Without War

By WOLFGANG STRAUSS

Perhaps the most dishonorable blot on the honor of America has been the way in which her rulers have knowingly, deliberately and repeatedly betrayed the millions of suffering heroes inside the Soviet Union and her satellites. But the day is coming when such treason to the West will no longer be tolerated by Americans. A participant in the Vorkuta insurrection—East German prisoner No. 777—tells of the ferment inside the U.S.S.R., its significance and what may be done about it.

●

"Possessions die, and families die,
And you yourself like them will die.
But the glorious deeds of the dead
Live on for ever."

I am reminded of this saying from the Edda, the immortal epic of Old Germanic literature whenever I recall the fateful days of ten years ago. Fateful for those who were directly concerned, fateful for enslaved East Europe, and also fateful for the whole of mankind. The heroic attempt of hundreds of thousands of prisoners to overthrow the colonial rule of the modern Russian barbarians, known as the Bolsheviks, from within failed because the insurgents did not have the sole effective means of crushing this despotism—namely armed force—at their disposal.

NORYLSK

May 24, 1953, can be regarded as a historic date in the history of the fight for freedom of the subjugated peoples, for it was on this day that some of the guards—for trivial reasons—fired on several prisoners of Camp No. 5 in Norylsk. There were "only" two dead, but this spark set the powder burning, as it were. Twenty-four hours after this bloody incident the entire camp started an insurrection; soon the neighboring camps, including those of Dudinka and Kairkan, followed the example of the prisoners of Camp No. 5. Within a very short time the largest camp region in Siberia was in a state of revolution. At that time there were about 300,000 so-called free citizens, but only 40,000 prisoners, in Norylsk and the surrounding districts. But as the prisoners constituted the most important group of workers and were directly employed in the production process, work came to an entire standstill. This was a heavy blow to Moscow's economy, for the largest nickel deposits in the whole of the Soviet Union were located in Norylsk; according to economic plans, about 180,000 tons of nickel were to be produced there in 1953. In addition to 30 factories and foundries, there were also a large number of mines in Norylsk, where platinum, gold, coal, cobalt, iron and copper were mined. The insurrection of the 40,000 prisoners hit the economy, and above all the armament industry, of the Soviet Union in an extremely vulnerable spot.

Revolutionary tenacity and courage were the outstanding qualities of the insurgents, who were led by the strongest group of prisoners, the Ukrainians. And amongst the Ukrainians the political leadership was left to the members and adherents of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) by the rest of the prisoners of their own free will. In united effort with Georgians, Latvians, Germans, Lithuanians, Turkmans, Armenians, Tatars, Esthonians, Byelorussians, Koreans, Cossacks and Finns, the Ukrainians created all the preconditions for a successful defense of the insurgent camps. From the outset they knew that there would be a fierce clash between the police troops and the prisoners, and for this reason they were determined to defend all the barracks, all the gates of the camps, and each square yard of Siberian soil against the enemy.

But what weapons had they to carry out this defense? On July 1st the Red soldiers received orders to storm Camp No. 5, in which there were 900 prisoners. In closed ranks the soldiers surrounded the entire camp and set up heavy machine guns everywhere. There was to be no surprise attack after all! The socialist "heroes," who were armed to the teeth with all the most modern war-equipment, were afraid of the prisoners, who had no weapons whatever and only possessed bare fists and brave hearts. The soldiers and the prisoners stood facing each other. All that separated them from each other was a barbed wire fence and the death zone, which was about 30 feet wide. Then the officers gave the command to fire through the barbed wire fence at the rows of prisoners, who, completely defenseless, were exposed to the volley of the machine guns and submachine guns. And the soldiers fired until the barrels of the guns were red-hot.

The Bolsheviks dealt with the insurgents in Camp No. 3 in a similar way. Volley after volley was fired at the rows of prisoners behind the barbed wire fence. Within seconds, hundreds were massacred; others, who had been badly wounded, either collapsed and bled to death, dragged themselves towards the barracks, or else were shot dead by the Red murderers. Eventually the command to cease fire was given; but by that time additional troops belonging to a special detachment were already marching into the camp. Armed with iron bars, around which they had wrapped barbed wire, they now began to beat the dying and the wounded in a merciless way. Sadism had a free hand!

Not in every case, however, did these cowardly murderers find things made so easy for them. In some camps they encountered a fierce resistance, and there were many casualties amongst the Bolsheviks too. This was the case in Camp No. 10. Here, the Ukrainians and their

fellow-fighters managed to take the guards by surprise and to disarm them completely; they also seized the camp commander as a hostage. The insurgents were thus in possession of firearms and other weapons, and with these they succeeded in warding off the onslaughts of the soldiers for twenty-four hours.

The Bolshevist soldiers belonged for the most part to specially trained troops; many of them were young Russians who belonged to the Komsomol, and their commanders were old, experienced Cheka officers. Under cover of the murderous volleys of their machine guns they stormed the insurgent camps, and a dreadful close combat, man to man, ensued. Hand grenades exploded incessantly, machine guns sputtered without a pause; bayonets and firearms went into action; daggers, axes and knives, which the prisoners had managed to seize, flashed above the heads of the Chekists and were dyed red with the enemy's blood. Many of the insurgents were killed, but the Bolsheviks, too, suffered a huge number of casualties. No captives were taken in this fight; nor were the wounded spared. It was a case of die or fight! It was impossible for the prisoners to retreat, for the camp had meanwhile been surrounded by the enemy on all sides—and beyond the camp lay the Siberian taiga. The prisoners were thus obliged to fight to the bitter end. The courage of the anti-Bolshevist revolutionaries of Norylsk was exemplary; each one of them, who held a weapon, a gun or an axe in his hand, was, as it were, a citadel and a vanguard of freedom and democracy. But the fight was no longer a combat in the military sense, but a massacre.

Not even when the insurgents had used up all their munition did they surrender. They continued to defend themselves by using their fists, knives and stones. Not far from the main gate of Camp No. 10 they were eventually encircled completely and, save for their leaders, were mown down by the enemy. The Bolsheviks had thought of another method of dealing with the insurgent leaders: they were executed in the presence of all the prisoners. This last act of bestial mass murder finally broke down the resistance of the revolutionaries in the camps of Norylsk.

VORKUTA

On August 1, 1953, exactly 31 days after the dreadful bloodshed in Camp No. 5 in Norylsk, the Russian Bolsheviks organized another terrible massacre in Vorkuta, about 90 miles south of the Arctic Ocean. For weeks the 300,000 prisoners there—men and women—had been on strike. Most of the coal mines there were no longer producing any coal, and in Leningrad, the main consumer of the coal from Vorkuta, the machines in the armament factories were standing idle, and work in the foundries and shipyards had come to a standstill. And the reason for all this was the fact that the prisoners employed in the mines of Vorkuta, the largest prisoners' settlement in the whole of the Soviet Union, had hoisted the black banner of revolutionary insurrection. In Vorkuta, where up to that time 30 huge mines had been working, the pre-revolutionary situation that had prevailed there since 1951 had now assumed a new aspect and turned into a revolution. The prisoners had chosen an opportune moment for their insurrection. The enemy, that is to say the Russian Bolshevist regime, was undergoing a grave crisis. Stalin's death had resulted in power cliques and factions in the Central Committee leadership which were at loggerheads with one another. The Red ship was drifting rudderless in a sea of tempestuous political feelings.

The segment of the population of the Soviet Union that was exploited most ruthlessly were the prisoners, who numbered 22 million. At the same time, they were also, from the political point of view, the most progressive, courageous and revolutionary enemies of Moscow. It was therefore inevitable that they should be the first to revolt!

What happened in Vorkuta when the 300,000 prisoners there revolted? On August 1, 1953, at the orders of Public Prosecutor Rudenko, General Maslenikov and Major-General Derevjanko (all of them in Vorkuta), police troops were sent to the scene in order to crush the insurrection in Camp No. 29. The action taken in this camp was to serve as a warning to other camps. Special regiments of the MVD were sent to Vorkuta from Petchora, for, in the opinion of Rudenko and his staff, the MVD guards who had been stationed in Vorkuta for years no longer possessed the necessary "socialist fighting spirit" and were therefore not reliable enough when it was a question of massacring the insurgent prisoners. Actually, there were several cases in which guards refused to carry out the order to shoot prisoners and either deserted, or committed suicide.

In closed ranks the troops from Petchora encircled the entire camp and, at the direct command of Rudenko (who was quite close to the barbed wire fence during the massacre), opened fire on the prisoners, who numbered about 3000 and included old men and invalids. They possessed no firearms whatever—some of them were only clad in trousers—and had formed lines, five deep, along the barbed wire fence in order to intimidate the young Bolshevist soldiers morally by their courageous and resolute conduct.

No doubt very few of Rudenko's soldiers fired on the prisoners out of conviction. The blind, servile obedience of the Russians, which turns men into unfeeling machines and unscrupulous killers, is both terrible and incomprehensible. Rudenko did not content himself with having light infantry munition such as machine guns, submachine guns and rifles fire at the prisoners. He even had heavy mortar brought up, which opened their deadly fire on the camp—a camp that was in no way fortified and had neither trenches, bunkers, nor cellars. The barracks, which were built of wood and loam, afforded no protection whatever against the heavy grenades. The exact number of prisoners who were killed on this occasion has never been ascertained; some authorities affirm that they number 600, others estimate that there were 200 dead. In our opinion, the figure of 400 insurgents, who were either killed whilst fighting or died of their wounds, seems to be the closest approximation.

This dreadful massacre on August 1, 1953, ushered in the last tragic stage of the Vorkuta insurrection. By the middle of October of that year the resistance of the pris-

oners in practically all the mining camps had been physically broken, and the leaders of the insurgents had either been liquidated, or transferred to the death-camps in North Siberia.

JEWISH DOUBLE STANDARD

"There is no monument above Baby Yar,
A steep cliff is the only obscure grave.
Fear fills my heart . . ."

These are the opening lines of a famous poem by the young Russian poet Yevtuchenko, which is dedicated to the innocent victims of the Russian anti-Semites, whose grim war-cry continues to be: "Down with the Jews! Save Russia!" *(Bej zschidow, spassay rossiju!)*

If Yevtuchenko, who has been acclaimed so enthusiastically in France and Western Germany, is a true anti-Stalinist, not only in name but also in his very heart and feelings, why does he not condemn the Stalinist mass murders of Lviv, Vynnitza, Vorkuta, Byelomor Canal, Rivno, Katyn and Kharkiv? Dare he not venture to do so, or does he not want to do so? Does he not regard the 14,000 murdered Polish officers of Katyn, or the 6000 massacred Ukrainians of Lviv as being worthy of a poem in their honor!

HANGMAN OF UKRAINE

We hardly need discuss Nikita Khrushchev, the bloody hangman of the Ukrainian people during the years 1938 to 1947. He is a Stalinist criminal of true Marxist type. There is another murderer and criminal, however, whose name is equally well-known to 22 million prisoners: Sergei Kruglov, General of the secret police, an expert in executions under Stalin, and appointed by Stalin's successor Khrushchev in 1953 as Minister of the Interior, that is to say as chief of the entire secret police. From 1953 to 1956 Kruglov was head of the notorious terrorist apparatus, the MVD. At Kruglov's explicit orders, one of the most dreadful massacres in Russian history, which certainly does not lack atrocities, was carried out on June 27, 1954. And the victims of this massacre were completely unarmed women and girls.

"Down with slavery!"—"All Stalinists should be tried before a people's tribunal!"—"Death to Bolshevism!"—"Down with Russian chauvinism and colonialism!"—"A general pardon for all the victims of Stalin and Beria!"—these were the watchwords of the prisoners in the notorious copper mines of Kingir, in the heart of the "hunger steppes" of Kazakhstan, when they started a general strike on May 16, 1954, that is to say 10 years ago. They numbered 8,000 men and about 3,000 women, young girls, and mothers with small babies, most of whom had been born behind barbed wire. The main reason for their insurrection was the bestial murder of 31 prisoners for no motive whatever.

Orders were immediately issued from Moscow, where Khrushchev had meanwhile assumed power, that the insurgents were to be forced by violence to resume their work. On June 26, 1954, special battalions of the secret police (MVD), using countless machine guns and mortars, stormed the camp, which had only been barricaded in a makeshift way by the prisoners. Before they stormed the camp the Bolshevist soldiers were given plenty of vodka to improve their socialist "fighting morale."

The prisoners tried to defend themselves with stones, "Molotov cocktails" (bottles filled with benzine), knives, axes, and their bare fists. A grim fight was waged round each of the stone barracks. The Bolsheviks only managed to advance very slowly. "SOS! We are being murdered!" was the last message sent out by a Lithuanian prisoner with the aid of a radio transmitter, which had been made out of parts of an X-ray apparatus.

When heavy tanks rolled into the camp at Kruglov's orders, the prisoners gave up their heroic fight, for it was obvious that they could not ward off these huge tanks with their bare fists. By the evening of June 26, 1954, Camp No. 392/3 was shrouded in smoke and flames; and piles of corpses lay outside the barracks, or smouldered in the burning ruins.

WHY NOT VICTORY?

These incidents were nothing less than a revolutionary clash. But why did this heroic attempt on the part of millions of prisoners fail to kindle a revolution in the Soviet Union? Why did the insurgents not manage to escape from the camps and establish contact with the local population? These questions have often been raised, but the answer given by so-called Western "Russian experts" rarely tallies with the truth.

To anyone who witnessed incidents in Vorkuta, Kingir, Norylsk, or Verchni-Kamskaja, the reason for the failure of these revolutionary insurrections is perfectly obvious: the prisoners possessed neither weapons nor ammunition. Hence they could neither defend themselves effectively, nor launch a counterattack. As regards numerical strength, the prisoners had nothing to fear from the Bolshevist soldiers; it was evident that the prisoners were numerically superior. But in view of the fact that the insurgents had no modern weapons or munition, their numerical superiority and fighting spirit was of no military or strategical value.

GOLDWATER KNOWS

Certain prominent politicians in the free world are also of this same opinion. True, their number is still small, but their views on this question are nevertheless significant. At the beginning of October 1963, Senator Goldwater, for instance, made a statement in which he said: *"We should declare the Communist world movement illegal and accordingly should withdraw our diplomatic recognition of all Communist governments, including the Soviet Union. We should encourage the enslaved people to* revolt *against their Communist rulers, but we should warn them against starting premature revolts which have no prospect of succeeding. The freedom fighters will realize that the time, place and methods of such revolts must necessarily be determined by the factors of a global strategy. To this end we should establish close contact with the underground leaders behind the Iron Curtain and should supply them with printing*

(Continued on page 13)

Modern Art and the Crisis of the West

By JOHN S. SULLIVAN

As the reader can tell, John Sullivan is no ordinary artist. But the extent of his difference is not hinted here: his aesthetic tastes and a firm grounding in history and philosophy have produced a creative politician. As National Chairman of the U. S. NATIONALIST PARTY, John and his comrades can usually be found after work or on Saturday on a picket line or distributing literature in or around New York City. A family man, his wife is a talented opera singer.

In studying the cyclic rise and fall of Cultures the historian, whose intellectual perceptions have not been blunted by contemporary equalitarian dogma and the materialist myth of linear history, can easily ascertain from the art forms of any given historical period the cultural health of the nation in question.

In periods of High-Culture great art springs forth in a magical abundance. The soul of a nation "in form" actualizes its inner unity into a passionate task of ordering the multiplicity of the universe into a vision of its own ordered harmony. To Dante, the voice of the high Middle-Ages, (the *Divine Comedy* is a verbal Chartes) art was " the reflection of nature and the grandchild of God."

Conversely, in times of decline art reflects the lost unity of a Culture. For what is decline except the loss of unity; racial, spiritual and political! The withering away of national consciousness gives birth to a debased dilettantism; a preccupation with exotic foreign forms, not only artistic but racio-religious as well. We have only to observe the contemporary popularity of "African art" "Zen Buddism" etc. to understand this process. Domestic products in periods of decline are always characterized by various degrees of formlessness and exaggeration: thus the Roman art of the "Pax Romana" gave way to the elephantine monstrosities and almost abstract incidents of "The Decline and Fall."

As it was with Rome, so it is with America and the West today.

Primitivism bestrides the world of the popular arts; its dominance a reflection of a population without cohesion and natural leadership: raceless, disoriented, a swirling mass of mechanized savages bent upon satisfying acquisitive and sexual instincts which have been warped to a disproportionate intensity by what Yockey aptly termed the Culture Distorter.

These anti-Western elements have found, in the subcultural products of the Negro, a highly effective weapon in their war upon the Western spirit; a war in which they are enthusiastically abetted by the protagonists of rampant mercantilism, who will make use of anything, any "gimmick," no matter how esthetically repulsive or socially disintegrative. Thus jazz, (the funeral march of Western Civilization) puerile motion pictures, happiness mania, advertising, cretinous literature, and a sensational press combine to enforce a strict, willing and slavish obedience to the dictates of the Culture Distorter.

Concomitant with the debasement of popular culture has been the intellectualization of the arts. With the rise of Rationalism the old ideal of the artist as craftsman and mystic retreated before the new cult of the artist as an "intellectual." Intensely concerned with "social problems," "progress," "democracy," "humanity," etc. the artist faithfully echoed the spirit of the mass age; in its early facile optimism, later despair and current nihilism.

Van Gogh was the bridge between despair and nihilism. The early Dutch browns, reminiscent of Rembrandt, vividly portrayed the despair and agonized existence of the proletarianized victims of 19th century industrialism; a despair which led Van Gogh to plunge himself into the charnel house of the Parisian art world where the flight from form was already well under way in the persons of Matisse and Gaugin.

The defection of Van Gogh to cosmopolitanism signalled the beginning of what is known as "modern art." Indeed, a veritable army of parvenues and inverted visionaries sprang up like a fungus. Picasso, Modigliani, Kandinsky, Braque—cubism, vorticism, abstractions—the insane smears and diabolical daubings of sick minds; Schoenberg, Webern, Stravinsky, Berg—dissonance, twelve-tone monstrosities—bedlam set to music; Gertrude Stein, Kafka, Brecht, Spender—rabid bolshevist pornographic frothings; all found easy recognition in a society which had traded its heritage for "rights" and which thought in terms of money and humanity instead of race, sacrifice and tradition.

These madmen, charlatans, Culture Distorters and the creatures of Culture Distorters were the founding fathers of modern art. With the progressive disintegration of the Western soul their disciples and imitators have advanced even further upon the road to total nihilism: in fact the most advanced school of painting today, the so-called action painting, takes as its subject matter viscera and dung, which it proclaims to be the ultimate reality. And no doubt it is real, ultimate and advanced; the ultimate expression of the reality of advanced democratic decay.

The masters of form and spirit had sought inspiration in nature, in heroism, in war, in events of everyday and eternal importance, in the great and the slight; in short, in human existence in its cosmic and organic entirety.

The "new art" is megalopolitan, a logical expression of the festering modern city; it is formless, hence "democratic"; its milieu is the cafe, the hospital and classroom. Where Michelangelo had caught his inspiration from the burning eyes and searing words of Savanarola, your modern "genius" gives vent to belly-sodden Marxism and the Freudian cabalistic apocalypse. The builders of the Gothic sought God in living stone, the "avant garde" in a hypodermic syringe.

Gilbert K. Chesterton summed up, in all its horror and hypocrisy, the whole insane edifice of modern art: . . . *"a world which appears to be a dull and discoloring illusion of indigestion, not bright enough to be called a nightmare; smelly but not even stinking with any strength; smelling of the stale gas of ignorant chemical experiments by dirty, secretive schoolboys; the sort of boys who torture cats in corners; spineless and spiritless like a broken-backed worm; loathsomely slow and laborious like an endless slug; despairing, but not with dignity; blaspheming, but not with courage; without wit, without will, without laughter or uplifting of the heart; too old to die, too deaf to leave off talking, too blind to stop, too stupid to start afresh, too dead to be killed, and incapable even of being damned, since it has not even reached the age of reason."*

And yet this commercialized chaos is paraded before us as "progress," as what is "most modern." Abstract art, cacophonic music, nihilistic literature and psychoanalytic theatre are about as progressive as syphilis and as modern as crime. They appeared at the precise moment of culture crisis; and now lie heavily over the landscape of the Western soul; stifling the blood-surge of the emergent Race-Nation.

Nevertheless they are doomed; as surely as is the world-view which spawned them. The future belongs to the real forces of history. The Caesars of the coming Western Imperium and the new barbarians of the eastern steppes shall vie for supremacy in a world in which utopian schemes have given way to fact-politics, money-thought to social honor, individualism and collectivism to defined duties and ordered relationships; a world which thinks in terms of race rather than humanity, of hierarchy rather than mass; a world of deep spiritual inner abundance which has banished the boring emptiness of "intellectualism" to the scrap heap of history.

The democrat, the equalitarian, the liberal, the intellectuals and their artistic sycophants shall remain as quaint anachronisms; or better yet, as living reminders of a shameful era, the last survivors of a house that has toppled forever. Before the new state of Western being these posthumous zombies shall only be able, in the words of the poet Roy Campbell, to . . .

"Gasp or yawn to see in splinters hurled
Their meetingoid committee bungled world."

With the victory of the Culture-bearing strata, the craftsman and mystic shall emerge from the shadows. Without intellectual compulsion or journalistic esthetics, art shall once again return to its pristine splendor; the service of High-Culture and organic Nationhood.

RACE MIXERS RIDING FOR A FALL

By JOHN RAINSFORD

When folks even in Tacoma, Washington, grope for a solution to a question hitherto considered peculiar to the "bigots" who live in unsophisticated areas like our South or the Republic of South Africa, you may mark in your book that the matter is on the way to a solution. Here, a citizen of our Northwest propounds the ultimate resolvement of America's most pressing, stubborn and vexing problem.

●

Senator Richard Russell recently challenged the makers of the current "civil rights" bill to submit it to the voters by a referendum. Was his challenge accepted? Naturally not. The people pushing integration avoid giving voters any chance to express disapproval. This is understandable. When such measures as they recommend have been submitted to popular vote, they have usually been defeated. This has happened recently in California and in Washington state.

These defeats were suffered by the integrationists in spite of their pervasive control of the news media. Other reversals which have shaken the confidence of integration fanatics have occurred recently. One of these is the popular support given Senator Goldwater *after* he had voted against the civil rights bill. The disciples of force in integration matters had predicted this would greatly diminish his following.

Then there is the matter of the powerful showing of Governor George Wallace in Northern Democratic primaries. As usual, the liberal press attempted to alibi the matter, claiming, very implausibly, that the pro-Wallace vote in Indiana was due to the anger of the voters over a sales tax!

As an illustration of the contempt of integration forces for freedom of choice, let us consider the following facts. Supreme Court decisions have denied the right of states

to provide separate and equal facilities, in education, public restrooms, and so forth.

Such a denial is nothing less than an attempt to force colored and white people together, against the will of one, or even of both races. To demand that Negroes be given *equal* facilities is fair enough. Equally fair would be a stipulation that where only one facility exists, they must have equal access. But to deny the right of supplying separate *and equal* facilities, where people themselves desire such separation, is nothing less than judicial tyranny.

Such judicial tyranny can only be enforced by military power, as was the case recently in Mississippi and in Alabama. Such coercion by the executive and judicial branches of government against the rights of the states is in opposition to American history and tradition. The people, at least the majority of them, are beginning to resent it and their voice is beginning to be heard.

Rumblings of popular discontent have, however, not deviated the fanatical race-mixers one iota from their purpose. Their propaganda campaign against those who disagree with them continues unabated.

One of the most insidious attacks on those who believe in freedom of choice where mixing of races is concerned, is the assertion that segregation is "immoral." Individual freedom of choice in matters of ethics, and independence of conscience, is another tradition the integrationists have flouted.

Due to their predominance in radio, television, and the press, the race mixers are in a position to advance *their* convictions as the only moral ones, where integration is concerned. In a recent TV program entitled "The Week That Was" a chorus sang a propaganda song entitled: "The Lord is Color Blind."

It would seem that to say "The Lord is Color Blind" borders on irreverance. Presumably this propaganda was directed at the Christian convictions of viewers. Still, one might ask the program sponsors: "If God is 'color blind,' then why did He create separate races of men on earth? Could not He have made them of one skin color, one conformation?" It seems the Creator had more interest in racial variety than have the integrationists. Most of the latter seem to be, to use Mr. Byram Campbell's phrase, "worshippers of Oneness." If they love the Negro as much as they profess, why do they try to make him into an imitation white man?

What will happen when the majority of the Americans are stirred into action against the race-mixing program? In all likelihood, it will not be pleasant.

The liberal clergyman, busy attacking the native White American as a racial bigot, has neglected to preach to the natives of Harlem. If he would remedy this neglect there would be, perhaps, fewer rapes and murders of Whites by Negro criminals. But then, this is a problem the liberal press would like to avoid discussing. And it is one which the murdered victims are no longer in a position to discuss.

For the multiracial program of one-worlders to succeed in America, the Negro would have had to sell himself to Whites as a desirable associate. Unfortunately, his leaders have steered him in the direction of aggression. Aggression always calls forth an answering aggression: it has done so in this case. The race mixers have lost their opportunity, probably forever.

Some solution will have to be eventually reached. What will it be? Out of the question is any return to the old status. The hierarchic social pattern within which the two races lived together with a degree of mutual tolerance is broken forever. There are only, ultimately, two directions possible: one, mongrelization and the formation of a racially mixed population. Two, complete separation.

South Africa's racial experiment in separation—Apartheid—*is being worked out. If the majority of Americans do not want eventual mongrelization, something of the kind will have to be worked out in this country. Even right wingers sometimes shrink from this conclusion and try to evade it; they are deceiving themselves. In the long run, there is no other choice before us.*

The discontent of the majority of White people with present government policies regarding race will, we predict, become evident with the elections of the coming fall. Even though Senator Goldwater may seem too moderate to many Nationalists, he offers a clear alternative to the policies of the present administration both in racial and international matters. His election would be a step on the road toward a balanced social pattern in America.

Many Americans, including Conservatives, are heartily sick of the race issue, and hope it will go away. But it will be with us for a long time, and we may as well face it. Facing it, we must draw conclusions: drawing conclusions, we must act.

VICTORY *(Continued from page 10)*

presses, radio sets, weapons *and instructors,"* (quoted from the big Cologne daily *Deutsche Zeitung*). But politics and in particular freedom politics are not merely a question of material. The actual dynamic force in politics is provided by moral and ideological forces. Great historical turning-points and upheavals are in the first place heralded by spiritual and moral factors.

European history is rich in immortal and illustrious deeds performed by champions of freedom and justice, religious faith and human rights. To mention but a few examples: Leonidas and his 300 young Spartans in Thermopylae; the Thracian Spartacus and his army of insurgent slaves, who waged war against Rome; the burghers of Calais, the peasant-maid Joan of Arc, Wilhelm Tell, John Huss, Danton's revolutionary army at Valmy, and Wellington's redcaps at Waterloo; Ensign Omeltchenko's 300 cadets and schoolboys at Kruty; the 359 Ukrainians of the 6th Sich infantry division of Basar; the sailors of the warship "Potemkin." All these deeds, which reflect so much suffering and self-sacrifice, and so much human greatness and immortal heroism, are part of Europe. The revolutionaries who died must also be mentioned when one talks about the Christian Occident.

DEVOLUTION IN ACTION

By EDWARD LANGFORD

One of the most vital facts of life is that the biological structure of any species is liable to change through the generations, and that our actions today can therefore substantially modify the character and quality of subsequent generations of mankind on earth. Taken as a single species, the human kind has existed for many thousands of generations, but this does not mean that all members of the species are alike or of the same quality, and it is quite incorrect to assume that the nations of the present resemble those of the past or that those of the future will be identical to those of the present. The fact that all canines can interbreed does not make them alike, and the same is true of any species. Amongst human beings in particular the distinctive personal characteristics of the individual are of the greatest importance to the future progress of civilization, and the need to maintain the quality of the breed is a matter which concerns us all, and demands that we should study the laws of biological change which can within a few generations break down and ruin a people or a civilization, or build up and re-vigorate the peoples within a given district.

Human populations are by no means constant when exposed to the selective effects of modern life. Under "natural" conditions the balance of environmental factors is such that biological change is generally in one direction—forwards, even though "accidents" may lead to the speedy elimination or regression of promising types. But today "civilization" has changed the natural environment of man (and also of many of the higher animals, particularly those which have become domesticated). Today the law of survival of the fittest no longer holds good, and some writers even claim it has been replaced by the law of survival of the unfittest. In primitive conditions, those who had not the ability to fend for themselves effectively, and to compete with the more capable in the search for food, rarely survived long enough to produce offspring, and if they did the chance was that their offspring would not reach maturity. Today, by contrast, the poorer specimens of humanity have become protected beings, and the more capable are elected by scholarships and examinations to the levels of 'professional' society, in which they fail to reproduce themselves. Similarly, in war-time the more capable are chosen as air crew or for other active military service, yet the unfit are usually exempted from danger roles, so that they might survive to produce the generation of the morrow.

It is worthwhile, then, stopping to consider how exactly a biological type changes. How is it that a population can change completely in structure? How can a people decay within only a few generations, so that the kingdoms, civilizations and empires they have raised crumble and disappear into the dust of history? Whatever the value and importance of education might be, there can be no progress, and no maintenance of standards even if the individuals in a nation are not of sufficiently high quality to maintain that progress or that level. When the biological heritage of a nation declines, then so inevitably must the cultural level.

The biological structure of a population can change in three ways. The first of these is an absolute change in the hereditary equipment of the individual as a result of radiation and other external forces, and this is called "mutation." The second is a change in the physical structure brought about by breeding from certain restricted elements of the existing generation, and therefore ensuring that a larger proportion of the next generation possess a given set of characteristics than was the case with the previous generation. Let us call this unequal reproduction. The third, and most common factor in this modern world of easy travel, is admixture, when a new strain is introduced from outside the group.

Mutation is the most deeply mystic of these forces, and one which has not so far been effected to any marked degree by the effects of "civilization." The important feature about the hereditary equipment of any given organism is the mathematical exactness with which it will produce new organisms according to given laws. Mutations are the rare exceptions to this process which result from outside forces, of which radiation has been shown to be a prime factor. Due however to the fact that we today live under much the same environmental conditions as our earliest ancestors, and we are still exposed to much the same radiational forces which affected our ancestors, it is reasonable to assume that something like a state of equilibrium has been reached by the human race in respect of mutational changes, even if it is a moving equilibrium. It is possible that a marked increase in man-made radiation could seriously affect the mutation rate, although it is considered unlikely that we have yet reached any danger level in this field, and atomic warfare aside, "artificially" created radiation is unlikely to bring about a cataclysmic downfall in the human hereditary equipment.

More significant is the inequality of the reproduction rate between sections of a non-homogeneous population, which can lead to the predominance of one set or type of people within the course of a single generation, hence the insistence of the geneticist that a watch be kept on the all-important question of *who* are becoming the par-

ents of the next generation. In small societies under primitive conditions "random" drift may take place when, due simply to the smallness and homogeneity of the group, a statistical "accident" may lead to a variation in the character of the succeeding generations for no obvious or apparent reason, but this is rare amongst larger communities. Normally the question of who has the most offspring within a community—of who sets the pattern of the following generation—is dependent on specific environmental conditions, and as a result a species is subjected to the effect of "selection," for the Darwinian dogma of "survival of the fittest" is merely simple selection at work.

It is the elimination of those who are unable to surmount the challenge of environment before they have had the opportunity to reproduce, and to pass on their characteristics to their offspring, that ensures the suitability of the next generation to that environment. In the lower forms of life, this has often meant a rigid adaptation to given environmental conditions, and the consequent elimination of the entire species should a geographical or climatic change modify the environment too violently to permit the continued existence of this highly specialized form of life. The same is true of many of the higher animals, and so it was that the giant creatures of the last ice age became extinct with the termination of that epoch, but with man the progress towards surmounting the problems of environment has not been so much along a rigid physical adaptation to the need of the surroundings, but rather by the development of intellect and initiative, and of a freely associated emotional pattern which allows mankind to adapt itself to new circumstances, and to find fresh ways of meeting changed environmental conditions.

Selection—the elimination before the child-bearing stage of the unfit or the least fit—acts in the natural state not only on individuals within a given population, but also by the elimination of entire species. When two animal species compete for the same living area, the weaker species is usually exterminated, and this rule applied to the earlier tribes of man, and also to the spasmodic warfare between man and sub-man which eventually resulted in the annihilation of sub-man in all parts of the world.

This is the state of affairs in nature, where the inflexible law of survival of the fittest holds good, and species are largely homogeneous, so that by close inbreeding the entire species rapidly becomes adapted to the demands of the environment. But such is not the situation in the artificial pattern of life that has been slowly built up by man since he left the "primitive" stage in which he obeyed the dictates of nature. Nature still rules our lives it is true—we are only flesh and blood, physico-chemical organisms—but in the luxury of our own power, the exultation of triumph and pride at our own prowess, we have forgotten that we are still subject to the laws of nature, and that nature often breaks as well as makes. Nothing in the course of nature's history shows any permanent predilection towards progress. Nature is blind, and many a promising species has been destroyed because it failed to meet her demands or vagaries. Overlooking this, and supremely confident in some mystic sense that evolution must always move mankind yet further along the road of progress—and still burbling confidently about some future man, possessing yet greater powers of intellect and personality—mankind has deigned to ignore the knowledge which it has acquired of nature's methods, and has chosen to run counter to these laws. Only a handful of eugenicists and scientists, whose voice is never heard by the masses, remain to remind mankind that we are still subject to the laws of nature, and these scientists are called "inhumane" for their pains.

The third of the forces which are at work changing the pattern of life from generation to generation is the effect of cross-breeding between species, found mostly amongst domestic animals, who become notoriously liable to perversion of the natural instincts.

According to the law of evolution, species and subspecies—(evolutionary ventures still on their way to becoming separate species, which have acquired considerable physical differentiation but which are still capable of interbreeding)—compete one with the other for survival. Thus the stronger, or the best suited, survive, and evolution takes yet another step forward. But this is not the case with modern man. History tells a very different story: it tells of the conqueror enslaving the conquered, taking the womenfolk of the conquered into his own household, to become the mothers of his own offspring, it tells of the intermingling of civilizer with savage, of the perpetuation and survival of the conquered, and the annihilation by absorption, instead, of the conquerer. This is the story of Egyptian, Sumerian, Greek, Roman, Persian, Arab, Turkoman and almost every expanding civilization the world has known. Within a few generations of the conquest the original civilizing stock has been swallowed up and absorbed by those whom they conquered, so that the civilization staggers on without direction for a few more generations, and ultimately collapses due to weakness from within—from an inadequate supply of capable individuals to preserve what the earlier generations had built.

A study of eugenics soon convinces the reader of the danger to which modern man, with his reversed law of "survival of the fittest," has exposed himself, and a study of history, of the rise and fall of civilizations and nations, only too readily confirms the teaching of the eugenicist. The concepts of eugenics and evolution are young as yet, they date only from the last century, but they constitute the greatest discovery of mankind. If ever there is any discernible philosophy of history, any moral or lesson which is to be learned from the past, it is the importance of the biological factor in civilization and society. Environmental conditions in a natural state help to influence and shape the biological heritage, but in the artificial semi-civilized existence which mankind has led for the past two or three thousand years, these natural forces have been thwarted, and the future of the human race has been given up to mere chance, as a hostage to fortune. Surely the time has now come when we should start to employ the knowledge we have acquired about heredity and eugenics to proper ends.

OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON

By CARLETON PUTNAM

Nothing infuriates the embattled defenders of the expiring status quo so much as a frontal attack upon their pet theory of equality, for when that is knocked over so will their political edifice topple. Carleton Putnam, a distinguished Northern businessman—a native of New York and a graduate from both Princeton and Columbia—here delivers a heavy blow with his wrecking ball of fact and truth. Putnam's excellent book, Race and Reason, *is available, paperback, for $2 from this magazine.*

●

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

In your statement to religious leaders at the White House on April 29 you are quoted as saying that "the problem of racial rights and racial wrongs is the central moral problem of this Republic." You will find little disagreement on this general proposition, but I am puzzled by your application of it to the existing facts.

Let me be explicit. One fundamental question underlies all discussion of the race problem at home or abroad today. Until it is correctly answered, no wise decision can be reached regarding any judicial or legislative aspect of race relations. Nor can any moral or religious position properly be taken.

The question is this: Does, or does not, the balance of the evidence fall on the side of the existence of significant genetic differences in the capacity of the White and and Negro races in these areas of intelligence and temperament which are of importance to our Western civilization? In other words: Is, or is not, the average Negro's present condition primarily the result of his own genetic nature?

With all due allowance for overlap and for the substantial admixture of White genes in certain sections of the country (the problem varies directly with the spectrum which is the chief reason for leaving it to local control) anyone who takes the time to investigate will find that beyond a shadow of doubt the answer is in the affirmative.

It is equally clear that by evasion, equivocation, injection of diversionary issues, confusion of scientific with political controversy, and other ruses, the educational establishment and the scientific hierarchy, in cooperation with the mass media whose further distortions the hierarchy never disclaims, have succeeded in giving the public the impression that the answer is in the negative.

I have had considerable experience with both the establishment and the hierarchy in recent years and I am concerned by the carelessness with which intelligent men in places of high responsibility have accepted undocumented proclamations and resolutions from these sources. The political motivation behind all such edicts is transparent—*there is no scientific substance to any of them.*

The scientific truth is obvious. It has never been more perceptively expressed than by Dr. Carleton S. Coon. When Dr. Coon was president of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists he published a book entitled *The Origin of Races* which the *London Times* has called a landmark in the development of anthropology. In it Dr. Coon refers to the "great variability of twentieth-century human beings in *evolutionary grades*" [emphasis mine].

Throughout the world, in our foreign policy as well as in such matters as the Supreme Court's school decision of 1954 and the current Civil Rights Bill, we are dealing with a problem in which it is essential to realize that genetic racial differences due to evolutionary grade will not be changed by changing environments, and that instead of the average Negro's nature and performance being the result of the White man's "prejudices," the White man's "prejudices" are the result of the average Negro's nature and performance. The evidence is overwhelming. I list some of it as a postscript to this letter.

While we must manifestly do everything possible to lighten the burden of this situation upon all whom it affects, nothing is gained by concealing the facts. We cannot alter the evolutionary status of life on our planet by a law or a court decision. Yet it would seem we are attempting to do so—otherwise there would be no talk about the "morality" of forcible, wholesale and indiscriminate integration of biologically disparate and socially incompatible human groups, instead the debate would center upon the immorality of deceiving a nation by the distortion of scientific truth.

This is the misrepresentation upon which courts, legislatures and churches heretofore have acted. This is the falsehood which has encouraged the Negro to suppose that the White man owes him a debt when the truth is precisely the opposite. This is the hoax which has led to the "liberation" of Africa back to the pillage, rape, slavery, and political chaos which the churches, less than a century ago, were begging the civilized world to control. This is the deception which has inflamed the Negro against the White man and has set the stage for a rising tide of riots.

It is totally incorrect to say that the subject has been passed upon by the Supreme Court in the 1954 school cases or that the Negro's constitutional rights have been violated in this area. The 1954 decision, upon which any claim to a constitutional right must rest, has now been shown to have been based upon a misreading of the scientific evidence by the chief witness, as well as upon the omission of most of the relevant material. [*Stell vs. Board of Education of Savannah,* 220 F. Supp. 667. (S. D. Ga. 1963.] The 1954 cases are simply the prime

example of the triumph of the ignorance and misrepresentation of which I speak.

Nor is it correct to say that the *Stell* case has been, or soon will be, reversed. The *Stell* case cannot be reversed on the merits. The only possible reversal will have to be on some technicality, because there is no evidence in the record save such as supports the findings. Counsel for the Negroes did not even attempt to offer contradictory testimony in that case.

The findings of Stell are that the average Negro is years behind the average White child in learning capability and that this deficiency *is due to innate, not environmental, limitations.* The result is that integration on any extensive scale produces frustration, rebellion and delinquency in the classroom with damage to both Negroes and Whites.

I realize that the integration movement has been urged upon the public in the name of compassion, Christian love, and moral duty. Self-righteous and ignorant conformists have often committed more evil in the world than deliberate criminals. From time immemorial men have put on the trappings of sainthood to perform destructive acts. But this is not a fitting role for the government of the United States.

It would appear that the day has come when the United States should take time off from deceiving the Negro so that some thought may be given to the children of both races as well as to the Northern White parent who wrote the *New York Times:* "The purpose [of the march on the New York City Board of Education] was to demonstrate that the people will not, under any circumstances, allow their children to be used by any one, for any purpose, any experiment, or to satisfy any demands. It is not a matter for compromise or negotiation."

This might be the day on which the nation would for the first time face the realities of the race problem and restore some meaning to the word "morality."

P.S. *In addition to the material in* The Origin of Races, *evidence bearing upon the evolutionary status of the Negro may be found in a variety of sources, a few of which follow:*

For a short summary of the relevant data in *The Origin of Races,* 1962, Alfred Knopf, New York, see Carleton S. Coon, *The Story of Man,* Second Edition, 1962, pp. 28-38, 60-62, Alfred Knopf, New York: "Like Java, Central and South Africa were regions of evolutionary lag during most of the latter half of the Pleistocene. The survival of Homo erectus [the predecessor of Homo sapiens] in these antipodal Edens was not disturbed until no earlier than about thirty thousand years ago, almost a quarter of a million years after the first appearance of Homo sapiens in regions nearer the center of evolutionary activity."

On the subject of White-Negro differences in brain size based upon measurements of brain-case capacity, see "Cranial Capacities, A Study in Methods," *Fieldiana-Anthropology,* Chicago Natural History Museum, Vol. 36, No. 3, 1947. On the significance of brain size as an index of evolutionary grade, see G. von Bonin, *The Evolution of the Human Brain,* 1963, University of Chicago Press. Also Carleton S. Coon, "Race and Ecology in Man," *Cold Spring Harbor Symposia on Quantative Biology,* 1960, Vol. 24, p. 156: "Among living populations, absolute brain size is generally, although not necessarily individually, related to achievement," (Brain-case dimensions can be used as a tool of analysis only after allowance for body size, sex, internal proportions and fissuration. See below.)

On the subject of White-Negro differences in cortex area as reflected in relative fissuration (sulcification) of the cortex, see C. J. Connolly, *External Morphology of the Primate Brain,* 1950, p. 258, Charles C. Thomas, Springfield, Illinois: "No morphological feature was found to be exclusively characteristic of either the White or Negro brain. It would be quite erroneous, however, to conclude from this fact that cerebral differences do not exist in the two races. There is first of all a difference in the frequencies of morphological features in the sulcal pattern. . . . The fissuration in our White series is somewhat greater than in the Negro series." Also C. W. M. Poynter and J. J. Keefian, "A Study of the American Negro Brain," *Journal of Comparative Neurology,* 1915, Vol. 25, pp. 183-212: "The sulci . . . of the Negro brain are undoubtedly less complex and easier of interpretation than those of the Caucasian." On the significance of fissuration as an index of evolutionary grade, see Connolly, op. cit., p. 360: "There is a degree of correlation between the sulcal pattern and the developmental status of the animal in the series of primate forms." Also W. Penfield and T. Rasmussen, *The Cerebral Cortex of Man,* 1950, Macmillan, New York, p. 206.

On the subject of the relative thickness of the supragranular layer of the cortex in Whites and Negroes, see F. W. Vint, "The Brain of the Kenya Native," *Journal of Anatomy,* 1934, Vol. 68, pp. 216-223. On the significance of the thickness of the supragranular layer as an index of evolutionary grade, see J. S. Bolton, *The Brain in Health and Disease,* 1914, London.

On the subject of relative kinesthetic maturation rates of White and Negro infants, see Marcelle Geber, *The Lancet,* June 15, 1957, Vol. 272, No. 6981, pp. 1216-19 and *Courrier,* Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 17-29, UNESCO, Paris, Jan. 1956. On the significance of kinesthetic maturation rates as an index of evolutionary grade, see J. C. Carothers, *The African Mind in Health and Disease: A Study in Ethnopsychiatry,* World Health Organization, Geneva, 1953, p. 100: "It is the rule in all mammalian life for full mental stature to develop early in direct relation with cerebral simplicity."

On the subject of differences in the electrical physiology of White and Negro brains, see P. Gallais, J. Corriol, and J. Bert, 1949, *Medecine Tropicale,* Vol. 9, pp. 693 f. Also P. Gallais, G. Mileto, J. Corriol and J. Bert, *Medecine Tropicale,* Vol. 11, pp. 128 f. Also J. C. Carothers, op. cit., p. 83. Also A. C. Mundy-Castle, B. L. McKiever and T. Prinsloo, *Electroencephalography and Clinical Neurophysiology,* 1953, Vol. 4, pp. 533-43: "Our main impression was that they [the Africans] reacted in a far more simple way than did the European group."

On the subject of differences in the cyto-architecture of the frontal cortex of Whites and Negroes (a paucity of large pyramidal neurons and an excess of small

primitive cells in the brains of East Africans), see F. W. Vint, op. cit. Also R. Ruggles Gates, *Human Genetics*, 1946, Vol. II, p. 1138.

On the subject of genetic causation of differences in White-Negro intelligence based upon the equalization of socio-economic factors in intelligence tests, see Henry E. Garrett, "The SPSSI and Racial Differences," *The American Psychologists*, May 1962, p. 261 (About one American Negro in six exceeds the White average I.Q., but there are six times as many Negroes as Whites with an I.Q. below 70 and six times as many Whites as Negroes in the "gifted" category.)

On the subject of the relative importance of heredity and environment generally, see L. Erlenmeyer-Kimling and L. Jarvick, "Genetics and Intelligence: A Review," *Science*, 1963, Vol. 142, No. 3598. Also H. H. Newman, F. N. Freeman and K. J. Holzinger, *Twins: A Study of Heredity and Environment*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1937. Also Cyril Burt and Margaret Howard, "The Relative Influence of Heredity and Environment on Assessments of Intelligence," 1957, *The British Journal of Statistical Psychology*, Vol. 10, Part 2, pp. 99-104. For a short summary, see *The Mankind Quarterly*, 1964, Vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 197-204: "It is clear that heredity is far more potent than environment: in fact, at least in the ratio of 3:1."

I must caution you to remain alert to the political pressures upon all scientists working in the racial field today. These pressures come both from their universities and their professional associations and involve their economic security and personal status. Consequently it is sometimes necessary to focus on their actual findings and to avoid being misled by their political disclaimers or occasional indirectness of style.

FAILURE *(Continued from page 4)*

willingness of legislators to take the responsibility which they have had thrust upon them by their election to office. They seek the glory and the publicity of being elected by their peers, and they find that the best way to stay elected and to stay out of possible political trouble is to always take the easy way out.

The recent vote on the so-called "civil rights" bill demonstrated this conclusively. Congress bowed to the demands of the pressure groups with an overwhelming vote in favor of the bill. Diagnosing this, an observer has conjectured that the reason was not that they did not know what was in the bill—indeed they did—it was just that they would rather vote for a bad civil rights bill—as is the habit of northern congressmen—rather than go back home and explain why they failed to vote for it to their constituents—in the face of bitter hostility from the minority, special-interest pressure groups.

And yet, in spite of this vast majority in favor of a bad bill—one Senator was just nominated for President by his Party who had voted against it—and the enthusiasm which attended that event made it impossible to not believe that one of the reasons why he was so nominated was because of his vote and stand *against* the bill.

There are other reasons why Congress is failing us, too. Some of these are stated quite plainly in the book reviewed in this issue by Rafael Trujillo's former intelligence head, Gen. Arturo Espaillat. It is no secret that men have often sought office in order to enrich themselves. A Nation can stand some of this and survive, but just how deeply the corruption has to imbed itself before the country can no longer survive is a question to which we had better give more attention.

Whatever the answer may be, we do know that unless there is a basic moral revolution in America, Congress will continue to become a gilded figurehead, with the power occupied by the President. The people may soon decide—as they have always decided in historical times past when this problem has been faced by a declining republic—that it is best to give more and more power to a man whom they trust, and who will, in turn, enforce the morality which the cosmopolitanism and sophistication of the day has erased from the mass of the people. And as the corruption and inability of our elected representatives becomes worse and worse, and the outlook appears more and more hopeless, this is exactly the choice which the wisest of the people may be forced, against their desires, to make.

HERMAN *(Continued from page 7)*

if all persons of the age group are removed annually, is very striking. The effect of such transference would be to nearly halve the original population in 20 years, and in about 40 years to reduce it to about 14 percent of its former size."

It was my privilege to have a sustained friendship with Marcus Garvey, the late illustrious Negro leader whose cry of "Africa for Africans; Those at Home and Those Abroad" led a vast number of American Negroes to hail him. In his autobiographical work, *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*, he accorded me the honor of giving publicity to my writings in the field of race. Already in the emergent nations of Africa certain of the leaders have referred to the American portion of their race as being "in temporary exile."

A leisurely, sustained repatriation program would give to our Negroes a nation of their own or settle such as desire in African nations that may request such settlement. This movement would enable Whites who are sensitive to the wrongs committed by their race on the Negro to compensate for these wrongs in some measure by restoring to Africa her stolen children in peace and comfort that they may take part in developing their ancestral land, a land of vast natural resources.

I am grateful to the Northern League for having me take part in this homecoming at the racial shrine of the HERMANSDENKMAL. To be on this hallowed ground in the broodland of my ancestors is the greatest honor that has come to me in a long life.

I wish for the League a continuation of its rapid growth. I say to my German kin who have shown us hospitality and assembled with us in the several gatherings that when with them I am conscious that I am one of them and feel that in unity our survival is secure and will continue its contributions to the progress of mankind.

Books

CARIBBEAN TINDERBOX

By IAN BRUCE MacLEOD

TRUJILLO: THE LAST CAESAR, by Gen. Arturo Espaillat. Regnery, Chicago, 1963. 183 pages with Index. $4.95.

Here is a book that combines all of the excitement, intrigue and mayhem of a James Bond novel and is true, to boot. Written by Rafael Trujillo's top intelligence officer, this is about as full of dynamite as a book can be.

Rafael Trujillo was a great man. He was dynamic, an inspired leader who raised the Dominican Republic from anarchy, poverty and weakness to the strongest and most powerful nation in the Caribbean. That he was cruel, vain and ambitious is just as true as that his country was—and is—helpless without the strong leadership of a dictator.

Americans—especially liberals—tend to forget that our pattern of popular representation is—historically speaking—an aberration on the face of the world. Few would seriously contend that even all Europeans can live without strong leadership, and certainly this statement is true when we consider the Latin nations.

Of course, the real Trujillo could never be known by reading what the Left says about him. Trujillo may have been repulsive and cunning, but he was also foolish and soft when it came to his relations with the United States; in fact, his inability to face up to the hostility of official Washington was his undoing. Had he responded to the wooing of the Soviet Union, American liberals would—judging by their perfect record—have flooded him with love and affection.

Few people knew that Trujillo started as a United States Marine. It was his early experience in the Marines which imbued him with an ineradicable trust in the United States and which left him psychologically incapable of cooperating with our sworn enemy, the Soviet Union. Trujillo knew, if Washington does not, that this enemy is implacable.

Failing to impress Washington with the seriousness of Communism in the Caribbean, he tried to save it for an American Lake by bribery of congressmen and senators. In this he failed, too, not because he did not bribe enough of them, or because his inducements were too small, but because the crooks would not stay bought. For example, the following passage tells a story which should be either proven or disproven by an investigation, but, judging from the Bobby Baker scandal, will continue to be swept under the senatorial rug:

> But sex remained always secondary to cash in Trujillo's technique for winning friends and influencing people in Washington.
>
> In 1957, for instance, Trujillo began to note the growing surge of Communist power in the Caribbean. His warnings to the Central Intelligence Agency [which ultimately assassinated him, as the book shows] and the State Department were ignored. So the Old Man decided to take the facts directly to the U.S. Congress.
>
> Through a middleman, Trujillo turned over $75,000 to a powerful Atlantic seaboard Senator. So the Senator suddenly became intensely alarmed about Red infiltration in the Caribbean. Forthwith, his committee embarked on an "investigation." The Senator himself, accompanied by his "bagman," made a quick, quiet trip to the Dominican Republic to confer with Trujillo. The Senator was told that the full resources of Dominican intelligence would be mobilized to gather data for his committee.
>
> Months passed. From all over the Caribbean, a flood of reports poured across my desk. Thousands of documents were condensed, collated and translated. There emerged a graphic, factual and in retrospect, entirely accurate analysis of the situation: a point-by-point study of the Castro-Communist designs on our hemisphere.
>
> Well, the Senator received the reports, but probably didn't bother to read them. He made a single and very silly Senate speech denouncing those damned Reds. And that was all. That was what Trujillo got for his $75,000. Altogether, payoffs to that one Senator totaled about $225,000.
>
> There is an interesting aspect to this particular case: the intelligence reports sent to that Senator included an exhaustive analysis of Fidel Castro's background. It clearly traced Fidel's Communist acts and associations from 1947 to the present. These facts were apparently totally unknown in Washington. Fortunately for Fidel, this Senator didn't give a damn for anything but money. He ignored the information. That was 18 months before Castro triumphed—with the support of the U.S. press and State Department—so the Senator's greed literally changed history. Now, when it is too late, he frequently sounds off in pious denunciations of the Castro regime.
>
> In a way, of course, this sort of thing speaks eloquently of the innate greatness of the United States. How else can a foreigner explain the survival of a country, some of whose leaders are so inept and corrupt? Trujillo had, for instance, price lists for the purchase of some U.S. Congressmen. An ordinary, run-of-the-mill Representative would cost about $5000 or less. A few House committee chairmen could be had for about there times that much, depending on the committee. Senators came high, of course. A chairman of a key committee could run from $50,000 to $75,000.

But revelations like this are only a few of the intriguing matters in the book. The Spenglerian will see his theories of cultural difference confirmed once again; how easy it is for us to think that we know our neighbors when we do not understand anything about them! The practical education in Caribbean politics, violence and intrigue is worth remembering when next we decide to export democracy to people who have no use for it.

There is also the story of Trujillo's assassination by CIA agents, and adding this to the known involvement of the CIA with the murder of the Diem brothers in South Vietnam an American may be excused for wondering of there is not some cosmic relationship with the later assassination of our head of state by a foreign agent.

OUR FAMILY TREE

By EDWARD VARGAS

THE TESTIMONY OF THE SPADE, by Geoffrey Bibby. Alfred Knopf, New York, 1956. 414 pages. $6.75.

"Life in Northern Europe, 15,000 B.C. to the time of the Vikings" is how the dust jacket announces this easily readable survey of Western prehistory. Beautifully illustrated and mounted, the book encompasses much without coming to any affirmative new interpretations. The pioneering work of the Danish amateurs, Thomsen and Worsaae, in laying out the guidelines for archaeological study in remote cultures, is well presented. The prepared reader, however, will probably get the impression after following Bibby's neat encyclopedia of northern prehistory that he has made no fresh or original contributions to our view of the fabulously rich subject, while the familiar details are there, handsomely collected, for those who may easily profit from this handy edition.

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